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**“Incarcerated Transported and Bound: Deference, Resistance, and
Assimilation, Constructing Community among Transported
Convicts from Britain to the Chesapeake 1739-1776”**

BY

Michael I. Bradley

Preface:

From June 8, 1744, through July 9, 1745, *Ordinary's Accounts* of London's condemned reported on a series of individuals who met a swift demise at the end of a rope at Tyburn Square, London's execution site. Out of the countless that were hanged, the lives of ten criminals who formed an interconnected community are illuminated. They were a subset of a larger network of at least thirty criminals who engaged in thefts, robberies, prostitution, fencing of goods, and overindulgence of intoxicating spirits across London.

At their head was Joseph Lucas. As a teenager, Lucas had previously been transported to colonial Maryland aboard the *Patapsco Merchant*.¹ After completing his sentence in the Chesapeake, Lucas married another transported convict, Ann, and they eventually returned to England after ten years in the colonies. Back in England Lucas again engaged in theft and robbery. His wife, allied with the "notorious [London] fence" Bess Cane, sold the stolen goods throughout the city. Despite several acquittals, their criminal community was slowly picked apart by the British justice system. Individuals were eventually indicted and convicted, alone and in groups. While the more notorious members of the group were executed, many others found mercy and were, as Lucas had been, subjected at a young age to transportation to the colonial Chesapeake.

During the eighteenth century, the British Crown and Parliament found itself faced with a plethora of social ills. These distressing circumstances were especially manifested by activities

¹ *Old Bailey Proceedings* (afterward: *OBP*) (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 24 March 2012) *Ordinary of Newgate's Account*, 9 July 1745 (OA17450709); The Old Bailey Proceedings and Ordinary's Accounts contain criminal's biographies who were to be executed at Tyburn in London. These were published and made available to the public and served as a form of entertainment as well as justification, correction, and control in regard to the executions and the results of engagement in criminal behavior respectively by the readership.

of the poor in Britain's premier metropolitan community. London had immense social and economic stratification, crime, prostitution, and substance abuse. Many no doubt throughout Britain drew a direct correlation between poverty, substance abuse, and criminality within the city. Parliament responded to these issues through various enactments, including the Transportation Act of 1718. This act authorized sentences of transportation to colonial America for those convicted in Britain of lesser felonies for a term of seven years. More serious felonies could be reduced to sentences of transportation for fourteen years or life, depending on the seriousness of the offense, in lieu of the death penalty, following a royal pardon.² At the same time, British officials undertook to publish accounts of the lives of many executed criminals from the *Old Bailey Proceedings* and the *Ordinary's Accounts*.³ The account for Lucas is typical of hundreds of others and recalls his fall into infamy from above and final salvation as:

...however wicked and haughty Lucas might be during the triumphant part of his life, while ambition and a desire of universal Monarchy reigned supreme in his breast; yet when fate was pleased to turn the scale, humility resumed the seat of ambition, and he condescended to become a Christian, by resigning himself to the will of heaven, and dying in peace and charity with all men. - He left behind him a wife, to whom just before he went to execution he wrote a consolatory letter, which the reader will find in the Appendix, and is well worthy attention.

Such publications may have entertained readers, but their primary purpose was to deter others from engaging in criminal activities. Furthermore, writers often asserted the need to maintain peace and safety in the community, built community support for criminal sentences and executions, at least from the upper echelons of the city's property-holding residents, and

² The Transportation Act of 1718, also known as 4 Geo. I cap. XI, Long title: *An Act for the further preventing Robbery, Burglary, and other Felonies, and for the more effectual Transportation of Felons, and unlawful Exporters of Wool; and for declaring the Law upon some Points relating to Pirate.*,

³ These accounts can be accessed at *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1764-1913*, <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/> and *Ordinary of Newgate's Accounts*, <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Ordinarys-accounts.jsp>

expressed lamentations about some community members failing to “exert ...in so good a cause.”⁴

Many of Britain’s poor Londoners found themselves at the receiving end of the British judicial system. As they often moved around the British archipelago and entered London where they engaged in crime, these individuals’ lives often consisted of convergences and disjunctures as they were indicted and subsequently transported to British colonies across the Atlantic, and in some instances returned to England.

This study focuses on these individuals during the period from the commencement of the War of Jenkins’ Ear in 1739 through the conclusion of the American Revolutionary War in 1783. It centers on the transportation of these individuals from London to colonial Chesapeake, specifically the Baltimore region. Though I focus solely on the Chesapeake, it was not unique: Great Britain as well as other European powers employed the transportation of certain elements of society as an ongoing method for resolving social problems, either actual or perceived. Moreover, many of the tactics convicts discussed in this thesis used to create and maintain communal ties were employed by convicts transported to other colonies in the Americas.⁵

⁴ OBP, *Ordinary of Newgate’s Account*, 7 November 1744 (OA17441107).

⁵ Scholarship on other nations’ convict transportation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries includes Ruth Pike, *Penal Servitude in Early Modern Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (Manchester: Carcanet in association with the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and the Discoveries Commission, Lisbon, 1997); Gabriel Haslip-Viera, *Crime and Punishment in Late Colonial Mexico City, 1692-1810* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999); Timothy Coates, *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Éric Fougère, *Île-prison, bagne et déportation: les murs de la mer, éloigner et punir* (Paris [u.a.]: L’Harmattan, 2003); Louis-Jose Barbançon, *L’Archipel des Forçats: Histoire du Bagne du Nouvelle Calédonie, 1863-1931* (Nord-Pas Du Calais: Presse Universitaires du Septentrion, 2003); 187-205; Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore: A History of the Transportation of Convicts to Australia 1787-1868* (London: Vintage, 2006); Tamar Herzog, *Upholding Justice Society, State, and the Penal System in Quito (1650-1750)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007); V. M. Doroshevich, *Russia’s Penal Colony in the Far East: A Translation of Vlas Doroshevich’s “Sakhalin”* (London: Anthem Press, 2011); Kirsty Reid, *Gender, Crime and Empire: Convicts, Settlers and the State in Early Colonial Australia* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2012); Daniel V. Botsman, *Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013);

For the British, the transportation of convicts to overseas colonies predated 1739 and was established well prior to the system established by the Transportation Act of 1718. In 1619 James I ordered transportation of those “young people who had been twice punished but not reformed, and the same year commanded the Virginia Company to transport fifty similar criminals at once.”⁶ Reverend John Cotton further illuminated the nature of transporting convicts. In a 1651 letter to Cromwell, Cotton acknowledges the arrival of 150 “Scots” taken in battle in 1650 who were subsequently transported to colonial New England. The letter describes their arrival and sale into indentured servitude for terms ranging from six to eight years. Prior to the Transportation Act, thousands of other Scots, as well as Irish, were also transported by the British government to North America.⁷ These individuals seem largely to have comprised of political offenders, although criminal offenders were also subject to transportation. The phenomenon of transportation of convicts was an ongoing process based on tradition. The British, while perhaps best known, were not alone in its exercise.

The Spanish also engaged in the transportation of convicts across their much more expansive colonial empire. In the seventeenth century the Spanish government removed “unruly plebeians” through their *forzado* system from New Spain. Through the *forzado*, criminals were transported from established New Spain settlements in galleon flotilla as convict soldiers to the Philippine islands or to other contested locations such as New Spain’s Chichimec frontier in present day Mexico.⁸ In Europe, Spanish convicts were typically sentenced to labor on galley

Timothy J. Coates, *Convict Labor in the Portuguese Empire 1740-1932: Redefining the Empire with Forced Labor and New Imperialism* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); and Johan Heinsen “Dissonance in the Danish Atlantic: Speech, Violence and Mutiny, 1672–1683,” *Atlantic Studies* 13, no. 2 (2015): PAGE NUMBERS.

⁶ James Davie Butler, “British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies,” *American Historical Review* 2, no. 1 (1896): 12-33, 13.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁸ Stephanie Mawson, “Unruly Plebeians and the *Forzado* System: Convict Transportation between New Spain and the Philippines during the Seventeenth Century,” *Revista De Indias*, 73, no. 259 (2013): 693-730, 694-5, 699.

ships but also were sentenced to military service in Spain's North African forts.⁹ In doing so, Spanish officials were responding to many of the same issues that plagued the British, but were primarily concerned with filling labor shortages in their American colonies and desired removal of undesirable or unstable members of communities at home by settling them within colonial possessions.

Like the British and Spanish, the French also forcibly moved criminals and other "plebeians" to colonial possessions. Opportunities for French subjects outside Nouvelle France largely inhibited voluntary migration to North America.¹⁰ Those that did venture to the New World often returned to France as quickly as they could. The resulting labor shortages in colonial America created an opportunity for the French crown beginning in 1721 to export violators of the salt tax, poachers, smugglers, and other offenders, as well as destitute women and prostitutes to French Canada. Wrongdoers were also sent to Nouvelle Orleans along with a population of Germans from France's recently expanded Eastern boarder around the same period.

These complicated movements of large numbers of convicts were but strands of a larger story of coerced carceral transportation that transpired throughout the early modern period to the far reaches of the world and in some instances back again. Historians have not yet uncovered the durability of community ties amongst individuals over extended periods of time, across a vast geography and in different nations.¹¹

⁹ Ibid, 696.

¹⁰ For more on this phenomenon see: Peter N. Moogk, "Reluctant Exiles: Emigrants from France in Canada Before 1760," *The William and Mary Quarterly* ("WMQ") 46, no. 3 (1986): 463-505; *La Nouvelle France: The Making of French Canada a Cultural History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000).

¹¹ Recently two digital programs have begun examining carceral transportation. A consortium of British universities, including the University of Sheffield and Oxford University, funded a doctorate research program, "The Digital Panopticon: The Global Impact of London Punishments, 1780-1925" that compares imprisonment in London with transportation in Australia, www.digitalpanopticon.org. This project, which is headed by Tim Hitchcock, a leading scholar of London's social history and creator of Old Bailey Online, www.oldbaileyonline.org, seeks to do what this project does: define how criminal justice systems shape and affect? Communal ties among transported criminals,

In contrast, this work provides a detailed analysis of the community ties of transported convicts from a specific locale (metropolitan London) to a particular colonial region (the Chesapeake) and interrogates how those ties were maintained or were frayed, a topic largely overlooked by existing scholarship. As such, through microhistorical approaches this work expands our knowledge of coerced labor, migration to British American colonies and the social history of criminality across the Atlantic.

although for convicts transported to Australia rather than North America. While Digital Panopticon is singularly focused on the relationship of convict transportation between Great Britain and Australia after the severing of the practice with colonial America, the University of Leicester has developed a broader project both spatially and over time. “Convict Voyages: A global history of convicts and penal colonies,” www.convictvoyages.org, headed by principal investigator Professor Clare Anderson and project administrator Dr. Emma Battell Lowman, seeks to write a global approach to penal colony studies that spans from the fifteenth century through to the nineteen sixties and includes nations beyond western Europe. It further explores the practice’s connections to larger historiographical themes such as imperialism, labor, and slavery. Despite the global nature and interconnections, “Convict Voyages” operates at broader levels and does not contain the precision of micro-historical analysis of individual convicts lives as they crossed the Atlantic.

Introduction

In *Moll Flanders* Daniel Defoe provided a vivid depiction of one English working class woman's dissolute life. Captivated by the gritty details of Moll's life in London and the Chesapeake, readers often lose sight of the author's insightful observations regarding the central role that being sentenced to transportation played in the lives of London's working poor. Written soon after the enactment of the Transportation Act of 1718, *Moll Flanders* reflects Defoe's concerns regarding the new law's impact upon London's lower class. The Act provided that those who were convicted of lesser felonies, who had received benefit of the clergy, or who had their sentences commuted by a royal pardon could be transported to Great Britain's American colonies for a seven-year term; enhanced sentences of fourteen years and life were to be issued to those convicted of more serious crimes. The Transportation Act played a central role in *Moll Flanders*. Moll's mother was not only transported for "borrowing" some china from a Cheapside draper when Moll was an infant, but one of Moll's husbands, a highway man, was also subsequently transported for twelve years. And, in the end, Moll herself was transported to Virginia for attempted theft. *Moll Flanders* may be a fanciful account of the life of a common criminal and yet many of the elements of Moll's life-- her engaging in criminal activity to survive, her forming connections with other criminals, her sense of identity being formed and maintained in a community of criminals, her need to adapt and maintain ties with other criminals while moving from a criminal life to imprisonment in London to being transported across the Atlantic and then finally forming and maintaining community ties to survive in the New World -- all were important components in the lives of convicts transported from London to the Chesapeake in the period from 1739 to 1775.

From these resources, individual convicts' lives have been chosen to illuminate how they engaged in and created community and kinship ties. These ties existed on varying levels and throughout constantly shifting circumstances that, at times, made the connections tenuous and fleeting. In doing so, it is proposed that these individuals, as placed in the specific chapters, are representative of many other convicts with regards to demographical information, patterns of behavior, and the creation and maintenance of kinship and community networks. Many criminals in London very likely mirrored the lives of the group that surrounded John Wright during the 1760s. Working with Wright was presumably his brother James Wright and a network that included James Doleman, Ann Hill, Ann Baker, Mary Jane Evans, and Martha Wolfe. Records reflect repeated criminal activities by this group, an established social hierarchy, and an interconnection among them in their criminal activities and distribution of stolen property. In the end one would hang, one would provide evidence for the Crown, and three others would be transported to the colonies. John Grimes, like many other criminals, would be pulled to London's gravitational center, where his criminal activities would earn him transportation to the colonies. There Grimes continued to resist. He possibly created an alias, presumably ran away, and continued in criminal enterprises with other convicts in Maryland. He was eventually executed for his crimes. William Isgrig grew up in the vicinity of London, and midway through a lucrative apprenticeship turned to crime and was transported. Unlike Grimes, Isgrig adapted to colonial society by conforming to its norms and became a successful farmer, most likely making a short migration into Baltimore County following his required indentured servitude. Each of these individual's lives casts light into circumstances that were readily echoed by others who were transported to the colonies for crimes in Britain. While not every convict followed precisely the same path to continued resistance or to assimilation, the general patterns that these individuals

illustrated as they maintained and created kinship and community networks to gain success is reflective of the larger cohorts. They were, each of them, representative of those who constructed community either in continued resistance or by deference and assimilation into a new more promising colonial society.

This work explores the development of communal ties, the malleability of identities, migration and movement among people like Moll Flanders. It utilizes information on almost five thousand convicts, or almost 10% of all those transported to the Chesapeake following the Transportation Act of 1718. Of these individuals, I have been able to find precise details for more than two hundred such convicts. In tracing the lives of these cohorts of convicts, this thesis will illuminate the communal connections among convicts as they both came together and were torn apart in London, across the Atlantic, and within colonial society in and around Baltimore, Maryland.

British authorities transported approximately 50,000 convicts from the British archipelago from 1718 through 1776, accounting for nearly one quarter of all immigration to colonial America during that period.¹² Ninety percent of these convicts were shipped to the Chesapeake. Maryland received roughly 600 convicts per year, or approximately ten percent of the colony's population.¹³ Research conducted for this thesis indicates convicts were more able to create kinship networks, friendships, and religious fellowships with their fellow Americans than has been previously believed. Further, it offers evidence as to the durability of community among former transported convicts after their indenture ended. Historians for quite some time

¹² Bernard Bailyn and Barbara DeWolfe, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1986). 294–295. Along with the more than 200,000 enslaved Africans brought to North America in the same period, transported convicts entered a world in which the overwhelming majority of migrants were coerced laborers. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, <http://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/XP0qANfZ> (accessed March 18, 2017).

¹³ Ibid; London and the “home” circuit (Hertford, Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Suffolk) on average sent 326 to Virginia and Maryland alone.

have contended that the fate of convicts after their servitude has been “shrouded in mystery” and required “genealogical research.”¹⁴ It has been asserted that “a good many less than ten out of every hundred of transported convicts actually settled down comfortably in the colonies” and that “certainly most of them were worthless and dangerous.”¹⁵ This has been the prevailing scholarly view for more than six decades. While some convicts maintained their nefarious ways, and others moved considerable distances in search of employment following their terms of service, the number that became productive members of colonial society has been underestimated while also showing that perpetual criminal activities, resistance, and flight from the colonies have been overestimated.

The full span of convict servants’ lives has been a somewhat neglected topic. More recently it has gained some scholarly attention. The earliest commenters from the late nineteenth century, such as George Bancroft, attempted to minimize the importance, nature, and social situation of transported convicts. Others such as John Thomas Sharf, provided quantitative analysis of the volume of convicts entering the colonies, despite mistakenly calculating their numbers at 20,000 instead of the approximately 50,000 that historians today see as a more reliable estimate.¹⁶ In the first years of the twentieth century Basil Sollers would connect the data

¹⁴ Abbott Emerson Smith, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947): 303; A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718-1775* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987): 11-45, 125, 166, 173, table 12.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ A. Roger Ekirch, “Bound for America: A Profile of British Convicts Transported to the Colonies, 1718-1775”. *The WM&Q* 42, no. 2 (1985): 184-200; *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.2, March 2015); London’s criminal community alone during the eighteenth century was extensive. Historians have estimated there were 115,000 criminals within the city during the late seventeenth century; Aaron Skirboll, *The Thief-Taker Hangings: How Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Wild, and Jack Sheppard Captivated London and Created the Celebrity Criminal* (Guilford, Conn.: Lyons Press, 2014) 20. This is in comparison to population estimates of 675,000 in 1750 and 740,000 in 1760. Clive Emsley, Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, “London History-London, 1715-1760”, *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 23 February 2016). Despite the implementation of the Transportation Act of 1718 (4 Geo. I cap. XI), the persistent presence of criminal indictments over the eighteenth century in the records of London’s Old Bailey speaks volumes. The yearly totals peaked in 1784 when Old Bailey recorded 1184 indictments for criminal activity; generally, the court averaged approximately 500

on transported convicts to the importance of convicts in providing much needed labor at a time of a colonial labor shortage in the years before the American Revolution.

Decades later, in 1947, Abbot Emerson Smith's emphasized the importance of convict labor to the colonial system that suffered from a chronic labor shortage. Smith's work would be the last word on transported convicts to British North America for forty years. In 1986 Bernard Bailyn and Barbara DeWeolf's work would similarly frame the transportation of convicts to colonial America as part of a metropolitan response to a labor need in the periphery, i.e., the colonies.¹⁷ At roughly the same time, A. Roger Ekirch included more complete coverage of convict transportation pursuant to the Transportation Act of 1718. Ekirch asserts the decree that the English court impacted the convicts' shipment and conditions during their Trans-Atlantic passage, their lives in colonial America, and in some instances return to England. Bailyn and Ekirch's books represented an ongoing emphasis on Atlantic connectivity that had been developing for some time and the culmination of several smaller projects into larger publications. Thereafter, Farley Grubb, Kenneth Morgan, Maxwell Stewart Hamish, Peter Rushton, Gwenda Morgan, Aaron S. Fogelman, Peter Wilson Coldham, and Edith Ziegler began to examine other elements of convict transportation to America. For example, Farley Grubb examined economic elements of the trade; Maxwell Stewart Hamish analyzed the global perspective of the trade; and Kenneth Morgan has studied attributes of convict groups and elements of business operations of a business firm.

The complexity and variety of these new studies are mirrored by the historical subjects. Attempting to reduce those who were transported to colonial America into a simple socio-

indictments per year over the century, with a trend of indictments increasing from the beginning of the century to its end. Overall 50,268 criminals were indicted in Old Bailey during the century, many of whom, upon being convicted, would be transported to colonial America.

¹⁷Bailyn and DeWolfe, *Voyagers to the West*.

economic demographic description is inherently problematic. While property crimes may largely have been motivated by economic marginalization, other crimes that received the leniency of the court crossed both social and economic boundaries. Other studies have highlighted these problems as well. While historians Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker have used the term “plebeian” to describe those who received poor relief, experienced “significant poverty” during their lives, and found themselves at the receiving end of the British criminal justice system, others, such as Stephanie Mawson and Thomas Calvo, have used the term as it was applied by the colonial authorities to designate “inferior class status.”¹⁸ For the purposes of this thesis the term “plebeians” will include not only these categorizations and inherently difficult descriptions but also those individuals stigmatized by status as transported criminals. These individuals would have often been identifiable by signals branded onto their bodies as part of their criminal sentencing. They would receive a “T” for theft, “F” for felon, and “M” for murderer.¹⁹

Defining “community” is a complex and difficult task. Historians, more often than not, leave this to sociologists and anthropologists. Despite the use of often amorphous definitions of “community” reflective of varieties “between the vertical and horizontal dimensions” of “community,” there is some consensus today as to the appropriate definition of the term.²⁰ The term “community” is often attached to specific geographical locations. It also frequently reflects

¹⁸ Hitchcock, and Shoemaker, *London Lives*, 4-5; Mawson, 699; Thomas Calvo, *La plebe según los virreyes de América (siglos XVI-XVIII)* (Chimalistac, México, D.F.: CONDUMEX, 2003).

¹⁹ Clive Emsley, Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, “Crime and Justice – Punishments at the Old Bailey”, *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 13 September 2016).

²⁰ Lorena S. Walsh, “Community Networks in the Early Chesapeake,” in *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, eds. Lois Green Carr et al, (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1988): 200-241. Darrett B. Rutman “The Social Web: A Prospectus for the Study of the Early American Community,” in, *Insights and Parallels: Problems and Issues of American Social History*, ed. William L. O’Neill (Minneapolis, Minn.: Burgess, 1973), 57-89; Richard R. Beeman, “The New Social History and the Search for “Community” in Colonial America,” *American Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (1977): 422-443; Bernard Deacon and Moira Donald, “In search of community history”, *Family and Community History*, 7, no.1 (2004): 15-16; and Dennis Mills, “Defining community: a critical review of ‘community,’” *Family and Community History*, 7, no.1 (2004):8-11.

the shared social ties and kinship networks created. Such community ties and networks can either be established by collective action toward goals, or through membership in or identity with particular demographic or shared ideologies. Communities can also range in size from small to large and can be nestled within one another. Convicts' communities were all of these things at one time or another as their identities shifted with varying circumstances as they sought to survive life during the early modern period.

Current examinations of community in early American history can be traced back to 1974. In that year Kenneth Lockridge's 1974 monogram, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts, 1634-1736*. In the same year other detailed social histories, Philip Greven Jr.'s *Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts*, and John Demos's *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony*, all provided detailed social histories of New England Puritan communities. Each examined a specific Puritan community with particular geographical dimensions and considered the political atmosphere of kinship networks and groups in the community as generational pressures compelled changes in societal practices. By examining the transplanted rural village he hopes to illuminate "the world we have lost" through "migration, mechanization, and urbanization" that have altered Western society since the colonial era.²¹ Social history studies of Early American communities by Lorena Walsh, Darrett Rutman and Anita Rutman followed. Walsh moved the geographical lens from New England to the Chesapeake, where in the early seventeenth-century the county was too large to be "conterminous with community."²² Examining a more "diffuse" social organization, Walsh found that despite the rural distribution of settlers "meaningful associations based on something more than pure happenstance" were

²¹ Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (Methuen, 1971); Kenneth Lockridge, A. *Dedham, 1636-1736: The Anatomy of a Puritan Town*. (New York: Norton, 1985) xi-xii.

²² Walsh, "Community Networks," 200-241, 201.

occurring that shared not just culture but created “collective economic and social action.”²³ In *A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750* Ruttman and Ruttman conducted an investigation of kinship and community consolidation and fracturing by examining individual networks. More recently, John L. Brook examined cross-Atlantic connections of political rhetoric in his countywide study of groups in *The Heart of the Commonwealth: Society and Political Culture in Worcester County, Massachusetts, 1713-1861*. Others, such as Alan Taylor in *William Cooper’s Town*, have also examined groups within communities in light of the new “linguistic turn” where community studies meet linguistic studies. Trevor Bernard’s *Creole Gentlemen: The Maryland Elite 1691-1776*, and Charles Steffen’s *From Gentlemen to Townsmen: The Gentry of Baltimore County Maryland, 1660-1776* both have examined the development of a community of wealthy gentlemen in Maryland. They returned to social science methodological practices of Lockridge, Demos and Greven to examine kinship networks, marriage patterns, economic development, and social hierarchy in the Chesapeake. This thesis examines the often scattered communities of British plebeians turned criminals as modernization and bureaucratic process transported them to the diffuse geography of the Chesapeake, and how they maintained and shifted allegiances that consolidated and fractured along the way.

This thesis largely follows the “modern glossary” definition of “community” used by Darrett Rutman and Anita Rutman in *A Place in Time*: “a group of people living together in some identifiable and sharing a set of interests embracing their lifeways” and “that mythical state of social wholeness in which each member has his place and in which life is regulated by cooperation rather than by competition. It ...always seems to be in decline at any given historical present. Thus, community is that which each generation feels it must rediscover and re-create.”²⁴

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Charles Abrams, *The Language of Cities: A Glossary of Terms* (New York: Viking Press, 1971), 59-60;

It further utilizes the network approach adopting Talcott Parsons's work on network relationships over two separate planes or axes. Parson's dual planes existed with one vertical (Y axis) that intersected a specific place and countless other places and a horizontal (X axis) that displays the network responding to a specific location.²⁵ This thesis complicates this conception by adding the further special dimension of correlating to change over time (Z axis). This last axis examines the manner in which convicts chose to create and maintain community and kinship bonds as they engaged in Atlantic movements, something that has yet to be engaged by scholars (See Image 1).

This thesis will also demonstrate that in many instances convicts were separated from their respective home communities as they were drawn into London. Once in the metropolis they were forced to create new communities and kinship networks in order to survive. Many of these groups were geographically located within specific locations in London. These networks were often small, loosely organized, and permeable groups. Convicts were indicted, jailed, tried, sentenced, transported, and served their sentences. During this process, individuals moved into and out of small-scale groups and communities with relative fluidity as they identified with others who were undergoing a similar set of circumstances and sought to collectively act in order to achieve their goals. Once transported to North American colonies, this shifting continued. In some circumstances convicts continued to resist. In others, former convicts assimilated and identified with colonial culture and established themselves in the colonial communities.

Traditional narratives regarding convict servants and convict servitude have often ignored the level of control, either actual or perceived, that these individuals had in their lives before, during, or after their criminal sentences. Convict servants, when transported, entered into a period of subjugation during which they were beholden to masters for a number of years. Much

²⁵ Ruttman, *A Place in Time*, 24-30.

like slaves, during this period they were limited in the lawful decisions that they could make. They were not, however, slaves. Despite being unable to marry, move freely about, or make a variety of other choices, convicts were, with rare exceptions, still white Britons with access to the courts who occupied a position above enslaved blacks, despite circumstances where they might work beside them. Moreover, for those who completed their sentences, they had the liberty that they had temporarily lacked, reinstated. Despite vulnerability and often poverty in metropolitan London, decreased control over their lives, and situational circumstances where they found themselves at the sharp end of the judicial system, convicts were able to create communities to further their needs in London, in carceral spaces, both in England and at sea, and in the Chesapeake.

In England London's "plebeian" population used a variety of tactics in response to the enforcement strategies of British officials.²⁶ Recently Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker have explored the agency that many of these Londoners exercised as eighteenth-century society evolved at a macro-level.²⁷ This "causal link" between an evolving society and plebeian agency impacted broader social policy during the eighteenth century and was influenced by London's criminals who operated at a micro-level by creating kinship connections amongst themselves. Despite the social dislocation that was often experienced by those who migrated to the capital, the eventually transported convicts increasingly operated together tactically in the commission of crimes and during continued resistance to the British Criminal Justice system after transportation. These tactical choices utilized the British consumer marketplace and London's

²⁶ For tactics and strategies this paper uses Michel de Certeau's definitions as followed by Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker. That is to say how criminals' everyday behaviors allowed them to achieve goals against the British government's strategies or systems and institutions which regulated their actions. Michel de Certeau and Steven Rendall. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

²⁷ Hitchcock, and Shoemaker, *London Lives*, 17.

pawn shops to deal with their situational poverty and the inability of British strategies to deal with such social problems. Further, when these individuals were eventually brought before the justice system and placed in carceral spaces, these bonds were often shifted, if not severed, and newly recreated in order to deal with new sets of circumstances.

Marcus Rediker has demonstrated that slave ships were sites of transformation: floating prisons where all people aboard during the Middle Passage were compelled to take on new roles and different identities. Captains became wardens, sailors became jailers, and the enshackled individuals in ships' holds were transformed from free members of a particular tribe or kinship group into "Africans."²⁸ In significant ways convict transportation paralleled the circumstances on Transatlantic slave ships: the removal from native societies, confinement, transportation across the Atlantic, sale, and unfree labor in the Americas. These circumstances transformed convicts by fostering and solidifying social ties among the transported.²⁹ Most criminals shared a common language and socio-economic status in London. In their incarceration in London prisons, during their shipboard passage across the Atlantic, and relocation to Maryland and Virginia these convicts created and extended bonds in much the same fashion as slaves did during the Middle Passage. These criminals, closely shackled, would have been divided into messes and close cooperation would have been required to eat, engage in limited movement, and perform bodily functions. In some instances, this solidarity--either perpetuated from carceral spaces in London or newly formed aboard the ships--and sense of community perpetuated their criminal activities upon arrival in the Americas. Some exercised volition together by escaping from the ship, running away from their masters, and engaging in continued criminal behavior and

²⁸ Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship* (New York: Penguin, 2014). This is not to say that the process of transformation from tribal to African identity was completed for all enslaved individuals on slave ships during the Middle Passage. Rather, the Middle Passage was a critical component in this transformation of enslaved individuals from Africa.

²⁹ In this way, transported convicts were like Africans on Trans-Atlantic slave ships who were "'inticed" to run away "by some of [their] Ship-mates." *Antigua Gazette*, Nov. 29, 1798.

often operating in groups of two or more. For others, some sought new relationships with crew members either as informants or as sexual partners.

The broader majority of convicts however chose a different route and often assimilated into colonial American culture and society.³⁰ Some certainly left the locations where they served their masters for a variety of reasons that no doubt included both social as well as economic factors. Others remained within the communities that they served out their sentences. Despite the convict's stigmata, they were, as this thesis demonstrates, able to build kinship bonds and social networks within the communities and across socioeconomic boundaries that continued after their sentences were served. Conditions that facilitated assimilation were particularly present in Maryland's Baltimore County, which was largely unique to coastal colonial Chesapeake tobacco culture.

In the second third of the eighteenth century, Baltimore was situated on a largely undeveloped periphery of colonial Chesapeake. Although rich in timber and ore, the area largely lacked an abundance of fertile tobacco-producing lowlands. Geographically a little over two-thirds of Baltimore County was comprised of Piedmont Plateau, with meadow lowlands, summit uplands, and stream gorges, leaving slightly less than one-third of it rich fertile farmland with easy access to littoral waterways. As a result, this triangular meeting of upland and lowland

³⁰Bernard Bailyn acknowledges seemingly low rates of loss of convict labor due to runaways and concedes that rates of even 3% seem high. Bailyn and DeWolfe, *Voyagers to the West*, 350; Records from The Archives of Maryland further stipulate a relative absence of convicts from capital crime records in comparison to other statuses such as slaves and free whites, "Capital Crimes: Hanged, Pardoned, and Reprieved-1 All Classes by Date 1726-1775," *Archives of Maryland Online*, <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000819/pdf/chart2.pdf>; Abbott Emerson Smith commented that convicts' "ultimate fate is shrouded in mystery" awaiting genealogical research, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2012): 303; More recently, Kent Lancaster assessed that a significant number probably established themselves locally and suggested a study was called for. R. Kent Lancaster, "Almost Chattel: The Lives of Indentured Servants at Hampton-Northampton, Baltimore County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 94, 3, Fall 1999). ____.

zones the area was the most sparsely populated portion of coastal Maryland.³¹ Images of Baltimore from 1752 convey this absence of population. (Images 2 and 3) This environment, unlike other portions of the coastal Chesapeake, created different entrepreneurial opportunities in industry as well as opportunities for land acquisition that were largely unavailable in the more affluent regions in the southern and eastern regions of the county. It is in this environment that the present study focuses and where we find convicts creating and maintaining community ties during and after their indentured servitudes.

Despite the surge in recent scholarship regarding transported convicts, limited research has been done to frame the various segments of these individuals' lives into a cohesive narrative that demonstrates how they created, maintained and kept communal bonds that enabled them to adapt to a variety of highly stressful circumstances. What has not been done is to examine these transported coerced laborers' identity in relationship to their continuing changing status, and how change over time was due to both episodic status changes and political and social geography. In Great Britain hierarchy and patronage systems were endemic, land and resources were in short supply, and labor was in problematic excess. Once in the Chesapeake convicts experienced a society that was less hierarchical with comparably abundant resources, and a labor shortage. This thesis will examine how these changes impacted transported convicts and what decisions they made as they went from being impoverished Londoners to incarcerated and condemned convicts to exiled and indentured servants, and, ultimately, free people in the colonial Chesapeake. Some would choose continued resistance, while others would choose to assimilate into colonial society. The Chesapeake experienced an influx of convicts who underwent these changes in continuing waves as they served out their sentences. Their coerced migration, severing and forming of

³¹ Charles G Steffen, *From Gentlemen to Townsmen: The Gentry of Baltimore County, Maryland, 1660-1776* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993).

bonds, and identities spanned the Atlantic. Their lives were not simply British or American stories. Instead, transported convicts present a *circum*-Atlantic narrative connecting the lives of these individuals as they moved from the British Isles across the Atlantic, and in some cases, back again.³²

This thesis will reconstruct the social ties and continued resistance among convicts transported from London to the Chesapeake in the period between the beginnings of the War of Jenkins' Ear in 1739 through the end of the American Revolutionary War and will present a case study focused on the Baltimore, Maryland, area.³³ As did Allison Games in her study of migrants from London in the early seventeenth century, this thesis will utilize a cohort analysis to describe the lives of British migrants.³⁴ In doing so, it will demonstrate the importance to convicts and the regions they resided in of community ties established by convicts that spanned the Atlantic basin.

Specifically, this thesis will examine convict resistance, deference, and assimilation into colonial American society from 1739-1776. It will utilize an identifiable convict cohort of 4875 convicts, with approximately 200 identified from colonial newspaper runaway advertisements and Old Bailey indictments for return from transportation. These convicts worked on plantation and ironworks, and escaped from the Baltimore area. In addition to these groups a sample of convicts from Baltimore County, comprising two groups listed as A and B for this thesis, were present. Together these two groups have a concentration in, but are not limited to, two prominent colonial families, the Ridgely family and Northampton manor, and various owners of My Lady's

³² David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009): 17.

³³ This covers the present-day city of Baltimore, Baltimore County and Hartford County which were collectively one entity during the period of examination.

³⁴ Allison Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

Manor, as well as other individuals, including ex-convicts, who leased land from Thomas Brerewood.

Chapter One of this thesis will examine the conditions that transported convicts experienced in Britain and London as many of them migrated into the metropolis. It argues that once there, London's plebeians were often unable to meet sustainable living costs and often came together to form criminal communities. These groups then utilized the British consumer culture of the period to survive by pickpocketing, thieving, burglarizing, and robbing. They then redistributed goods back into the community through pawnshops and second-hand sales. Chapter Two continues with these groups as they were indicted, incarcerated in London's jails during trials, sentenced, and transported to the colonial Chesapeake. It examines groups of convicts as they continued to resist the English criminal justice system. Despite the fracturing of bonds and communities, convicts created new bonds or shifted and consolidated existing groups as they sought to escape jail, transportation, or colonial servitude. It shows an increasing phenomenon of cooperation amongst convicts as they worked together and further reassesses assumptions about the numbers of runaway convicts and those that returned to England from transportation. Chapter Three explores the pivot that surely occurred for many convicts as they entered into colonial society after the completion of their sentences. It reassesses the commonly held belief that convicts upon the completion of their sentences moved away to distant locations to escape the infamy of their former status. It closely examines the life of one transported convict, William Isrig, who made a short migration into London, engaged in criminal behavior, was indicted, convicted, and transported, and instead of continuing to resist, assimilated into the colonial Chesapeake creating new and extensive community bonds in Baltimore County. Chapter Four examines two cohorts of convicts in Baltimore County. One group arrived in the mid-eighteenth

century and had migrated into or remained within Baltimore County, established themselves, and assimilated into colonial society. The other group arrived just prior to the Revolutionary War. For the second group, they entered in a period of greater instability. These convicts were, in most instances, still subjected to sentences of servitude at the time conflict broke out at Northampton plantation and furnace. This chapter shows the varying conditions as explored in chapters two and three and applies it to larger aggregates on two manors, namely My Lady's Manor and Northampton. In total this thesis demonstrates that convicts utilized community and kinship connections to meet varied and diverse needs, that these connections were both strong and tenuous at times, and that at key moments shifted. Chapter Four reassesses prior scholarship on the nature of convicts, their lives, and provides a valuable examination of networks within freedom, incarceration, servitude, and post servitude and how they changed over time. And most importantly, contrary to the long-standing scholarly orthodoxy on the topic, it demonstrates that some convicts were, upon regaining their freedom, able to successfully integrate into colonial society, do so in the communities in which they had been bonded laborers and that their success in doing so was in no small part due to the ex-convicts being able to maintain community ties with other community members and ex-convicts.

Images:

Image 1: Network Visualization

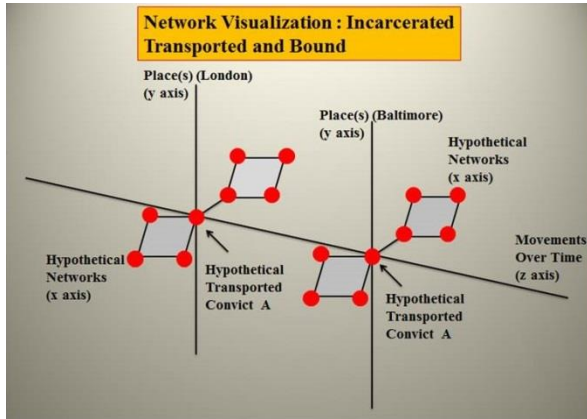


Image 2: Baltimore in 1752. Engraved by William Strickland, 1817. Sketch made by John Moale, Esq., corrected by Daniel Bowley Esq. Aquatint, some impressions hand colored. Hambleton Print Collection, Special Collections Department, Maryland historical Society.

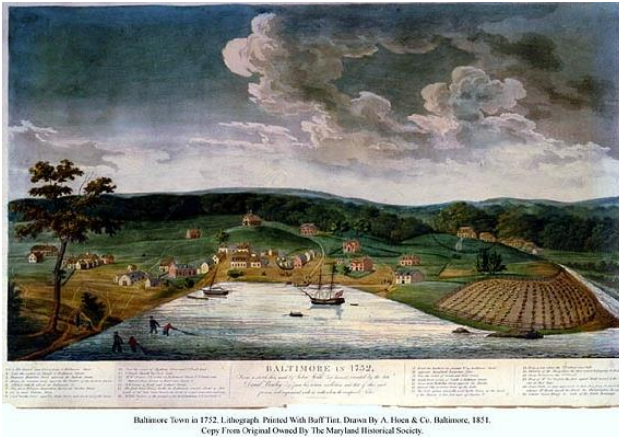


Image 3: View of Baltimore Town in 1752. Painted from memory on paper by John Moale. Museum Department, Maryland historical Society.



Annotated Bibliography:

Primary Sources: Archives

National Archives (UK)

The National Archives located at Kew in London were extensively researched over a previous travel grant graciously granted by Eastern Illinois University. From these records ship records for convicts transported were examined, as well as documents of the British convict contract firms from London that engaged in the transportation of convicts to the colonial Chesapeake. These records outline convict movements, shipboard conditions, and the nature of the convict transportation business.

Maryland Historical Society

Maryland Historical Society records have been used in much the same manner as records from the Massachusetts Historical Society's records. They contain correspondence and papers that link British convict transportation merchants to colonial sales representatives. They further outline the interworking of specific figures in colonial Maryland and specifically Baltimore County during the period of this research. From their records a detailed analysis of the Charles Ridgely plantation can be done. The Ridgely archive material is extensive and includes the records for the industrial iron works, where many of the convict servants from group B of this study were tasked with working. From the records, working conditions, interactions with the Ridgely family and the company store, and descriptions of the convicts, as well as their networks, can be sketched out.

Maryland State Archives

Maryland State Archives has provided a wealth of information on land patents, leases, and general land records. Further, their archives have been used to examine probate records consisting of wills and estate inventories for the period 1739-1776. From these records detailed composites of twenty-two former convict servants have been created. These composites' details include: property ownership, including slave ownership and the use of other convict servants; level of affluence; and network associations. Additionally they outline aspects of other convicts who served on the Ridgely industrial complex and plantation after their period of servitude.

Massachusetts Historical Society

Massachusetts Historical Society documents were used to research the correspondence of convict contractors and colonial representatives. These records include letters, business transactions, sale of convicts, and identification in some instances of the owners of convicts after transportation.

Lilly Library manuscript Collection, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

The Lily Library's collection holds a biography of one of the study's transported convict's grandchildren. This document describes conditions in colonial Maryland when the author was a child during the Revolutionary War and includes the family's migration after the war. The document was used in order to understand a detailed analysis of a single convict from his birth in the vicinity of London to his death in western Maryland after the war, and the movements and migrations of the convict servant's children.

Primary Sources: Newspapers and Periodicals

Maryland Gazette

The *Maryland Gazette* and other newspapers have been utilized for this study primarily to look up convict runaways. It has also been used to examine the circumstances of deaths of convicts in the colonies and those involved in continued criminal activities. From these advertisements and articles an understanding of convict runaways' demographics and lives can be gleaned. For this particular study this incorporated searching for and locating roughly 200 convict servants throughout the various newspapers.

Virginia Gazette [Pinkey]

The *Virginia Gazette* and other newspapers have been utilized for this study primarily to look up convict runaways. It has also been used to examine the circumstances of deaths of convicts in the colonies and those involved in continued criminal activities. From these advertisements and articles an understanding of convict runaways' demographics and lives can be gleaned. For this particular study this incorporated searching for and locating roughly 200 convict servants throughout the various newspapers.

Virginia Gazette [Purdie]

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Virginia Gazette [Purdie and Dixon]

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advertisements and articles an understanding of convict runaways' demographics and lives can be gleaned. For this particular study this incorporated searching for and locating roughly 200 convict servants throughout the various newspapers.

Virginia Gazette [Rind]

The *Virginia Gazette* and other newspapers have been utilized for this study primarily to look up convict runaways. It has also been used to examine the circumstances of deaths of convicts in the colonies and those involved in continued criminal activities. From these advertisements and articles an understanding of convict runaways' demographics and lives can be gleaned. For this particular study this incorporated searching for and locating roughly 200 convict servants throughout the various newspapers.

Pennsylvania Gazette

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* and other newspapers have been utilized for this study primarily to look up convict runaways. It has also been used to examine the circumstances of deaths of convicts in the colonies and those involved in continued criminal activities. From these advertisements and articles an understanding of convict runaways' demographics and lives can be gleaned. For this particular study this incorporated searching for and locating roughly 200 convict servants throughout the various newspapers.

Antigua Gazette

The *Antigua Gazette* provides a reference outside of the Chesapeake where slaves were enticed by ship's crew to run away. It is utilized as a contextual comparative piece in the introduction of the thesis.

Gentleman's Magazine

The *Gentleman's Magazine* often provides information on notable convict servants. It has been specifically utilized in this thesis for a 1755 census of Maryland that was contained within and provides population numbers for Maryland and more specifically Baltimore County including: free whites, slaves, indentured servants, and convict servants. They comprise data on male, female, and child status for each demographic.

Derby Mercury

The *Derby Mercury* provides a newspaper account for a group of convicts from outside the city of London who were transported to Baltimore during the period and are a portion of the convict Sample B. From this group two convicts were purchased by Ridgely family and this account reveals something of their lives prior to their convict servitude in the colonies.

Primary Sources: Online Databases

The Proceedings from the Old Bailey, 1674-1913. www.oldbaileyonline.org

The proceedings from the Old Bailey are a searchable database of 197,745 criminal trials from the Old Bailey in London between the years 1674 and 1913. The area of focus for this thesis falls between 1739 and 1776 and generally focuses on convicts transported from the London area to the Chesapeake. The data-base has provided not just trial accounts that often illuminate name, occupation, area of residence, and connections through those engaged in the similar committing of crimes but also statistical information through the database and independent research. An example of the independent research can be taken from the analysis of the types of items that the convicts were engaged in stealing over the course of the period. Much of the information from this site has been involved in a process of data stripping. As an example, for the year 1770 there were 267 indictments for transported convicts from which the property lists of items taken were tabulated by frequency to gain a better understanding of patterns of theft. Each of these indictments had the property lists “stripped” and then put through a software program called Voyant (<https://voyant-tools.org/>). Voyant is a word association program that will not only tabulate word frequency but also show word connections through textual analysis. Further individuals from this database have been compared to ship log lists available in primary and secondary sourcing to link individuals from London to specific transportation ships and destinations in the Chesapeake, where they were further linked with newspaper accounts, and available property and probate records. This has been done in over 200 instances. For the 1770 property study see: *OBP*, January 1770, trial of Benjamin Watkins (t17700117-4), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700117-4-defend93&div=t17700117-4#highlight>; *OBP*, January 1770, trial of William Poney Benjamin Church (t17700117-34), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700117-34-defend449&div=t17700117-34#highlight>; *OBP*, January 1770, trial of Lewis Tainting (t17700117-36), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700117-36-defend468&div=t17700117-36#highlight>; *OBP*, January 1770, trial of John Lister Isaac Pemberton Sarah Hill (t17700117-37), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700117-37-defend477&div=t17700117-37#highlight>; *OBP*, January 1770, trial of William Osbourn (t17700117-44), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700117-44-defend548&div=t17700117-44#highlight>; *OBP*, January 1770, trial of Thomas Hastell (t17700117-46), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700117-46-defend563&div=t17700117-46#highlight>; *OBP*, January 1770, trial of John Randolph Legrand (t17700117-35), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700117-35-defend457&div=t17700117-35#highlight>; *OBP*, January 1770, trial of Charles Pyne (t17700117-1), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700117-1-defend33&div=t17700117-1#highlight>; *OBP*, January 1770, trial of Thomas Barber (t17700117-26), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700117-26-defend304&div=t17700117-26#highlight>; *OBP*, January 1770, trial of William Harrison (t17700117-2), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700117-2-defend37&div=t17700117-2#highlight>

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<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-69-punish324&div=t17700912-69#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of Peter Birk (t17700912-54),
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<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-2-punish10&div=t17700912-2#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of George Fettiplace (t17700912-71),
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<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700711-34-punish182&div=t17700711-34#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of Joseph Price (t17700912-10),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-10-punish54&div=t17700912-10#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of Aaron Cohen (t17700912-1),
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<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-48-punish232&div=t17700912-48#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of Francis Doyle (t17700912-8),

<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-8-punish41&div=t17700912-8#highlight>; *BP*, September 1770, trial of Elizabeth Warner (t17700912-56),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-56-punish264&div=t17700912-56#highlight>; <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-51-punish244&div=t17700912-51#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of Samuel Birt, otherwise Boyle (t17700912-51),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-51-punish244&div=t17700912-51#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of John Billing Richard Moy (t17700912-50),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-50-punish240&div=t17700912-50#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of PETER KINCHLEY (t17700912-44),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-44-punish221&div=t17700912-44#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of Elizabeth Langford Elizabeth Dun (t17700912-34),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-34-punish177&div=t17700912-34#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of Ann Singleton Eleanor Meadows (t17700912-33),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-33-punish171&div=t17700912-33#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of George Russell (t17700912-32),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-32-punish165&div=t17700912-32#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of Elizabeth Page Margaret Carroll (t17700912-26),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-26-punish132&div=t17700912-26#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of Samuel Dangerfield Thomas Tattum (t17700912-21),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-21-punish104&div=t17700912-21#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of Elizabeth Windon (t17700912-25),
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<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-19-punish94&div=t17700912-19#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of Joseph Price (t17700912-18),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-10-punish54&div=t17700912-10#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of Isaac Hart William Law (t17700912-17),
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<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-38-punish197&div=t17700912-38#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of Theodosia Hodges Harriot Matthews (t17700912-86),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-86-punish408&div=t17700912-86#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of William Boyer (t17700912-79),
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<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-80-punish376&div=t17700912-80#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of Mary Barber (t17700912-81),
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[81#highlight](https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-60-punish283&div=t17700912-60#highlight); *OBP*, September 1770, trial of John Ward (t17700912-60),
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<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-74-punish349&div=t17700912-74#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of Edward Delamare (t17700912-74),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-78-punish368&div=t17700912-78#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of John Morris (t17700912-78),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17700912-57-punish267&div=t17700912-57#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1770, trial of Robert Kennedy Bartholomew Brown (t17700912-57),
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<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701024-31-punish148&div=t17701024-31#highlight>; *OBP*, October 1770, trial of Joseph Chapman Tho. Landakin (t17701024-31),
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<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701024-3-punish18&div=t17701024-3#highlight>; *OBP*, October 1770, trial of James Conroy William Henley (t17701024-3),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701024-62-punish296&div=t17701024-62#highlight>; *OBP*, October 1770, trial of Philip Walmsley (t17701024-62),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701024-35-punish165&div=t17701024-35#highlight>; *OBP*, October 1770, trial of William Clark (t17701024-35),
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<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701024-22-punish106&div=t17701024-22#highlight>; *OBP*, October 1770, trial of Robert Parker (t17701024-22),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701024-28-punish133&div=t17701024-28#highlight>; *OBP*, October 1770, trial of Henry Jones (t17701024-28),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701024-18-punish83&div=t17701024-18#highlight>; *OBP*, October 1770, trial of Mary Watts (t17701024-18),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701024-18-punish83&div=t17701024-18#highlight>; *OBP*, October 1770, trial of Mary Watts (t17701024-18),

[18#highlight](https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701024-17-punish75&div=t17701024-17#highlight); *OBP*, October 1770, trial of Elizabeth the wife of Richard Castle (t17701024-17),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701024-12-punish53&div=t17701024-12#highlight>; *OBP*, October 1770, trial of Margaret Spicer (t17701024-12),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701024-7-punish33&div=t17701024-7#highlight>; *OBP*, October 1770, trial of Joseph Brookfield (t17701024-7),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701024-54-punish255&div=t17701024-54#highlight>; *OBP*, October 1770, trial of Elizabeth Seymour (t17701024-29),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701024-29-punish138&div=t17701024-29#highlight>; *OBP*, October 1770, trial of Grace Eaton (t17701024-6),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701024-2-punish12&div=t17701024-2#highlight>; *OBP*, October 1770, trial of Elizabeth Clinch Ann M'Daniel Mary Brown (t17701024-2),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701024-1-punish5&div=t17701024-1#highlight>; *OBP*, October 1770, trial of Abraham Maltah (t17701024-1),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701024-26-punish125&div=t17701024-26#highlight>; *OBP*, October 1770, trial of Margaret Connolly (t17701024-26),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701205-45-punish200&div=t17701205-45#highlight>; *OBP*, December 1770, trial of Thomas Bede (t17701205-45),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701205-17-punish74&div=t17701205-17#highlight>; *OBP*, December 1770, trial of Mary Kenny (t17701205-17),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701205-9-punish41&div=t17701205-9#highlight>; *OBP*, December 1770, trial of James Bunce (t17701205-9),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701205-11-punish51&div=t17701205-11#highlight>; *OBP*, December 1770, trial of John Underwood (t17701205-11),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701205-24-punish104&div=t17701205-24#highlight>; *OBP*, December 1770, trial of Thomas Rutledge (t17701205-24),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701205-7-punish31&div=t17701205-7#highlight>; *OBP*, December 1770, trial of Elizabeth, the wife of William Brown William Brown (t17701205-7),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701205-37-punish165&div=t17701205-37#highlight>; *OBP*, December 1770, trial of John Witney (t17701205-37),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701205-36-punish161&div=t17701205-36#highlight>; *OBP*, December 1770, trial of JOhntson Biddleston (t17701205-36),
<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17701205-36-punish161&div=t17701205-36#highlight>.

For networks created and maintained by criminals see: *OBP*, January 1737, trial of John Warwick (t17370114-27), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17370114-27-defend209&div=t17370114-27#highlight>; *Old Bailey Proceedings* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 6.0, 17 April 2011), *Ordinary of Newgate's Account*, 12 May 1721 (OA17210512), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?name=OA17210512>; *Ordinary of Newgate's Account*, 5 October 1737 (OA17371005), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?name=OA17371005>; *OBP*, May 1727, Ann Rook (t17270517-7), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17270517-7-defend61&div=t17270517-7-defend61&div=t17270517-7-defend61&div=t17270517-7-defend61>.

[7#highlight](#); *OBP*, February 1764, Ann Baker (t17640222-43), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17640222-43-defend353&div=t17640222-43#highlight>; *OBP*, *Ordinary's Account*, 7 March 1764 (OA17640307); *OBP*, October 1764, James Wright, William Shittle (t17641017-30); *OBP*, October 1764, <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?name=OA17640307>; John Wright, James Wright, Mary Jane Evans (t17660116-6), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17640222-43-person356&div=t17640222-43#highlight>; *OBP*, October 1765, trial of Ann Hill (t17651016-29), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17651016-29-punish168&div=t17651016-29#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1764, Ann Hill (t17640912-16), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17640912-16-defend166&div=t17640912-16#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1765, Ann Killing (t17650918-18), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17650918-18-defend189&div=t17650918-18#highlight>; *OBP*, September 1734, William Newell and Thomas Martin (t17340911-12), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17340911-12-defend125&div=t17340911-12#highlight>; *OBP*, June 1728, Mary Webb (t17280605-9), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17280605-9-defend69&div=t17280605-9#highlight>; *OBP*, April 1738, Jane Webb (t17380412-40), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17380412-40-defend265&div=t17380412-40#highlight>; *OBP*, *Ordinary's Account*, 18 March 1741 (OA17410318), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?name=OA17410318>; *OBP*, April 1740, William Isgrigg (t17400416-2), <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t17400416-2-defend31&div=t17400416-2#highlight>;

The site additionally has useful information in article (secondary source) format on various aspects of London during the time period, including: crime, life in the city, conditions, and criminal justice. (See secondary sources for these entries)

London Lives 1690-1800, <https://www.londonlives.org/>

London Lives database is a broader categorical database that includes the Old Bailey Proceedings among a search engine. It also includes parish Archives for St. Botolph Aldgate, St. Clement Danes, St. Dionis Backchurch, Bridewell Royal Hospital, Old Bailey Proceedings, Old Bailey Sessions, Ordinary's Account, City of London Sessions, Middlesex Sessions, Westminster Sessions, City of London Coroners, Middlesex Coroners, Westminster Coroners, and additional datasets. The search engine function has been used at times to gain information on criminals for datasets in the same fashion as the Old Bailey Proceedings, and is usable to that regard to locate information about specific convicts' lives through primary sources. While used in initial research for this project it does not have a direct input statistically or through analysis of primary documents beyond what applies to the above *Old Bailey Proceedings*. It was referenced several times during the reading of the book by the same name that has linkage to the site. Its usefulness in further studies on this topic has yet to be fully determined.

Founders Online <https://founders.archives.gov/>

Founders Online contains a variety of documents from the founding fathers, including George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams (and Family), Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison. In addition, their correspondence is linked with other members of their communities and Britain. Many of these individuals were plantation owners and utilized convict servants on their estates. Some of these correspondences illuminate these individuals' lives, as well as convict contractors and British merchants that they worked with. In addition to general searches and data compilation for a larger project at a later date the web-based archives were useful for providing a cross geographical comparison directly in the thesis. See: "From George Washington to John Washington, 20 March 1773," *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified December 6, 2016, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-09-02-0151> Washington's correspondence are consistent with behavioral and networks in Baltimore for general comparisons with Virginia.

The Happy Map-Maker's Website, <http://map-maker.org/>

[The Happy Map-Maker website and database renders a visual understanding of property records in Baltimore and Harford County. For the duration of most of the period examined in this thesis these two counties were a single entity, dividing into two separate counties late in the study. In addition to visual representation the site also has a searchable list \[ctrl+f\] of properties which reveals patent holders and leases. \(http://map-maker.org/DM/Baltimore/map.html; http://map-maker.org/DM/Harford/map.html\) The site further conveniently provides index links to Maryland genealogical materials and property records in digitized microfilm format. \(http://map-maker.org/Helper/land/index.html; http://map-maker.org/Helper/genealogy/index.html\).](http://map-maker.org/)

Oxford English Dictionary, <http://www.oed.com/>

The Oxford English Dictionary is the definitive record of the English language. It was used in this thesis to examine the foundations of words as well as the usage of words and terms during the eighteenth century during the period of this examination. The usage of the word "thick" for example as used in the quotation at the heading of Chapter 1 is an example.

Primary Sources: Books and Pamphlets

"American Revolutionary Frederick County Unit." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 11 (1916)

While published in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, this item is a published primary document that lists Revolutionary War unit members from Frederick County units. The

list contains information on prior convict servants who served/were serving out their sentences in Baltimore County during the period of study.

Anon, *An Oration on the oppression of Jailors wich was Spoken in the Fleet Prison on the 20th of February 1731*.

“An Oration...Spoken in the Fleet Prison” was used as direct evidence within the thesis of connections and community of convicts in the London criminal system. Within the document the anonymous Fleet prisoner states the unity of the criminals in the jail.

Campbell, Duncan. *Convict Transportation & the Metropolis: The Letterbooks and Papers of Duncan Campbell (1726-1803) from the State Library of New South Wales*. Marlborough, Wiltshire, Eng: Adam Matthew Publications, 2005.

Duncan Campbell was one of the primary convict contractors engaged in the transportation of convicts from London to the Chesapeake. Campbell’s correspondence interacts with prominent colonials and his convict contractor affiliate in the Chesapeake. Campbell’s work was examined in comparison to Kenneth Morgan’s “The Organization of the Convict Trade to Maryland Stevenson Randolph and Cheston 1768-1775” which examined a Bristol firm engaged in the same trade. The initial examination will be useful for future studies more so than direct application to the thesis. Where the material was useful was in overarching connections of convict trade orchestrators to the project.

Fielding, Henry. *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers, & C: With Some Proposals for Remedyng This Growing Evil. ... By Henry Fielding, Esq.* London: Printed for A. Millar, 1751.

Henry Fielding was one of the Old Bailey judges during the period of this study. His above document was useful in gaining an understanding of British attitudes regarding the criminals during the period, as well as the breadth and scope of criminal activities. Fielding commented on communities and networks of convicts in London, and also on the levels of criminal communities or “gangs.”

Great Britain. *An Act for the Further Preventing Robbery, Burglary, and Other Felonies And for the More Effectual Transportation of Felons, and Unlawful Exporters of Wooll; and for Declaring the Law Upon Some Points Relating to Pirates*. London: Printed by John Baskett, and by the assigns of Thomas Newcomb, and Henry Hills, deceas'd, 1718.

This is the primary legislative act from British Parliament that was responsible for the creation of sentences of transportation for convicts convicted of lesser felonies and the reduction of more serious felonies with “mercy.” It provides a framework for understanding British attitudes of convicts and a launching point for the examination. It can be juxtaposed with previous transportation that was occurring before the act, the conditions in Britain at the time of the Act and post-Revolutionary War transportation.

“The Last Speech, Confession, Birth, Parentage and Education, of John Grimes, John Fagan, and John Johnson, alias Johnson Cochran, who were executed at Gallows-Hill, in the City of Burlington, on Wednesday, the 28th of August, 1765, for Burglary and Felony, committed in the County of Burlington, 1765” in *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675-1815*, Kerby A. Miller, et al., eds., (Oxford University Press, 2003)

John Grimes is an example of one convict who can be tracked from Britain, and more precisely Ireland, to the Chesapeake and Baltimore County. Grimes was transported into Maryland, escaped, and continued to resist British and colonial authority. His “last speech” illuminates aspects of his life in fashion designed to also act as a deterrent to engaging in criminal behavior. It gives an example of one network of continued criminal behavior amongst convicts in the colonies.

Langley, Batty. *An Accurate Description of Newgate. With the Rights, Privileges, Allowances, Fees, Dues, and Customs Thereof. Together with a Parallel between the Master-Debtors Side of the Said Prison, and the Several Sponging-Houses in the County of Middlesex. ... To Which Is Added, A True Account of the Parentage, Birth, Education, and Practices of ... Jonathan Savage. ... Written for the Publick Good. By B.L. of Twickenham.* London: Printed for T. Warner, 1724.

Batty Langley’s document describes varied aspects of Newgate prison in London during the time of this thesis’s examination. In addition to a physical description it provides an understanding of the workings of the prison which helped to foster the creation of networks and communities inside its walls even after bonds had been limited by incarceration.

The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account of His Fourteen Years Transportation at Virginia, in America In Six Parts. Being a Remakable and Succinct History of the Life of James Revel, the Unhappy Sufferer. Who Was Put Apprentice by His Father to a Tinman, Nearl Moor-Ficias, Where He Got into Bad Company, and Before Ran Away, and Went a Robbing with a Gang of Thieves; but His Master Soon Got Him Back: yet Would Not He Be Kept from His Old Companions, but Went a Thieving with Them Again; for Which He Was Transported Fourteen Years. With an Account of the Way the Transports Works, and the Punishment They Receive for Committing Any Fault. Concluding with a Word of Advice to All Young Men. London?: s.n, 1780. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/revel/revel.html>.

James Revel’s account of his life is useful in illuminating the life of one convict from London to the Chesapeake and then back to Britain again. It gives example of conditions, use by masters, re-sale by masters, and eventual freedom. It is one of only a very few accounts that does so and despite being geographically outside of Baltimore County it can be used to draw comparison to with those who were within Baltimore County.

Young, Arthur. *Annals of Agriculture, and Other Useful Arts: Collected and Published by Arthur Young, Esq. FRS. Honorary Member of the Societies of Dublin, Bath, York, Salford, and Oldham; the Philosophical and Literary Society of Manchester; the Oeconomical Society of Berne; the Physical Society of Zurich; the Palatine Academy of Agriculture at Manheim; the Imperial Oeconomical Society Established at Petersburg: and Corresponding Member of the Royal Society of Agriculture at Paris; of the Royal Academy of Agriculture at Florence; and of the Patriotic Society at Milan* (London : Printed by H. Goldney, no. 15, Paternoster-Row; and sold by all the booksellers in London and Westminster, 1784).

Arthur Young's document was used by George III to model writing. It reflects two mildly differing understandings of British attitudes of convict servants. A direct quote is taken from the document to illustrate these attitudes.

Secondary Sources

Abrams, Charles. *The Language of Cities: Glossary of Terms*. Viking Press, 1971.

Charles Abrams' work is used in the introduction of the thesis to define community and how it is thought of. It provides an up-front glossary definition that can be further expanded upon. It is used by Rutman and Rutman in: *A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia ; 1650 – 1750*.

Armitage, David. "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).

David Armitage's conception of Atlantic history provides the broad historiographical lens that the project is framed within. Within the article he discusses Circum-Atlantic, Trans-Atlantic, and Cis-Atlantic concepts. For the purposes of this project Circum-Atlantic is broadly utilized.

Bailyn, Bernard, and Barbara DeWolfe. *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution*. New York: Vintage, 1988.

Bernard Bailyn provides a detailed and broad sweeping account of migration of British people to colonial America. Within the book he details convict servants at various intervals. The work is useful in historiographical context as well as in providing detailed references to specific instances of convict servitude in the colonies regarding varied topics from labor usage, to attitudes toward convicts, and speculation regarding convicts' post-servitude lives. This thesis answers the broad narrative with a more detailed micro-historical analysis.

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction*. (New York: Knopf, 1986).

In this work Bailyn provides migratory concepts of the British people. It is specifically used in order to understand movements within Britain as well as the transatlantic movements that followed in many instances. These transatlantic movements were the movements and stories largely attached to the convict servants as they migrated, engaged in criminal activities, and were forcibly transported to colonial America.

Barbançon, Louis-José. *L'archipel des forcats: histoire du bagne de Nouvelle-Calédonie, 1863-1931*. Villeneuve d'Asq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2003.

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Barnes, Robert William. *Colonial Families of Maryland: Bound and Determined to Succeed* (Baltimore, Md.: Clearfield, 2008)

Robert William Barnes' book provides sketches of individuals' lives through primary sources in Maryland, and more specifically Baltimore County. In addition to some basic information it is an index to the existence of more detailed record locations in Maryland Historical and in some instances Britain. While it provides some details such as Barnes felt important, it is largely aimed at a genealogical audience and is focused as such. For instance, while it may outline a real estate transaction it leaves absent that this transaction included slaves or other pertinent information in examining detailed cultural and network examinations of lives.

Beatie, J. M. *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660 -1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

Beatie examines the phenomenon of an increase in criminal offences that resulted in capital punishment in relationship to a decrease in capital sentences being carried out. His work is useful in understanding the systems of deference and patronage that were occurring in Britain as well as in colonial America. An absence of patronage is linked to greater convictions, as is the presence of patronage to reduced sentences or sparing of lives. It is particularly prevalent for Chapter 1, where convicts were in London, but also has use in understanding frameworks in the third and fourth chapters, where manorial property holders were vouching for their property (convict servants) in colonial Baltimore County.

Beeman, Richard R. 1977. "The New Social History and the Search for 'Community' in Colonial America". *American Quarterly*. 29, no. 4: 422-443.

Beeman's work is used in the introduction of the thesis to help flesh out an understanding of community and community networks. It is used along with the work of Rutman, Walsh, and Abrams in this regard in order to define community for this study.

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998.

In order to understand labor systems and the culture of convict servants in colonial America it has been necessary to examine slavery in a similar regard. Ira Berlin's work has provided a comparative analysis of convicts to slaves. This portion was used in conjunction with Ira Berlin, Linda Colley, and Winthrop Jordan's works.

Boender, Debra R. "Fort Garrison" in Alan Galloway, *Colonial Wars of North America, 1512-1763: An Encyclopedia* (Oxfordshire; New York: Routledge, 2016)

Boender's work is of particular interest in understanding the world of a particular convict servant in Baltimore County. William Isgrig, a convict servant, lived in close proximity to the fort and interacted with the land owners in probate records. The work helps to paint a picture of the environment that these figures lived in and describes particular events that related to the fort, and thus the figures lives.

Botsman, Daniel V. *Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007.

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Boxer, C. R. *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825*. Manchester: Carcanet in association with the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and the Discoveries Commission, Lisbon, 1997.

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Breen, T. H. *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

T.H. Breen's works both provide an understanding of the workings of the British consumer marketplace during the course of this thesis. The work is used as a framework

to understand how convicts used the marketplace in order to survive and how the items that they were stealing and robbing for were both important commodities, as well as part of a system.

Breen, T. H. "'Baubles of Britain': The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century," *Past & Present*. no. 119 (1988): 73-104.

T.H. Breen's works both provide an understanding of the workings of the British consumer marketplace during the course of this thesis. The work is used as a framework to understand how convicts used the marketplace in order to survive and how the items that they were stealing and robbing for were both important commodities as well as part of a system.

Brown, Daniel. *"Freedom Wears a Cap": The Law, Liberty, and Opportunity for British Convict Servants in Virginia, 1718-1788*, Richmond, Va: Virginia Commonwealth University, 2010.

Daniel Brown's thesis provides a comparative analysis to convict servants in Virginia for this thesis. His work has had, in some regards, similar findings despite not making the same argument regarding convicts and convict servitude in Maryland during roughly the same period.

Browne, William Hand. *Archives of Maryland 16* (1897)

Browne's publication of Maryland Archives material is used to provide insight into a specific instance in a convict servant's life. It illuminates the life of Daniel Curtis in Chapter 4, and the interworking of some of his network connections.

Brugger, Robert J. *Maryland a Middle Temperament 1634-1980* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ. Press, 1996)

Brugger's work is a comprehensive history of Maryland and as such reflects broader United States history as Maryland history. In addition to usefulness as a general history of Maryland and thus Baltimore County, it is specifically used to show insight into the attitudes towards convict servants in Maryland for this thesis. It further provides links to other works through its bibliography.

Butler, James Davie. "British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies." *The American Historical Review*("AHR") 2, no. 1 (1896): 12-33, 13.

This work, along with several other secondary sources has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Bushman, Richard Lyman. "Markets and Composite Farms in Early America," WMQ 55, no. 3 (1998)

Bushman's work was used in this thesis in order to gain an understanding of the conditions and culture of farming in early America and specifically Baltimore County. Many of the convict servants examined in this project engaged in farming and plantation creation after the terms of their service and in order to better understand these aspects of their lives this examination was enlightening.

Calvo, Thomas. *La plebe según los virreyes de América (siglos XVI-XVIII)* (Chimalistac, México, D.F.: CONDUMEX, 2003)

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

"Capital Crimes: Hanged, Pardoned, and Reprieved-1 All Classes by Date 1726-1775," *Archives of Maryland Online*,
<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000819/pdf/chart2.pdf>

This web-linked chart is a reference index to capital crime cases in Maryland from 1726-1775 and covers the entirety of this thesis. It provides names of convicts involved in continued resistance and links to primary source documentation for further review. It has been used for both of these purposes and further to tabulate convict involvement relative to other statuses (slave, free, indentured servant) in serious capital crimes in Maryland and Baltimore County.

Certeau, Michel de, and Steven Rendall. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

This work is directly linked to Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker's work in *London Lives* and defines the strategies that individuals employed to succeed.

Coates, Timothy J. *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755*. Stanford (Calif.): Stanford University Press, 2001.

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Coates, Timothy J. *Convict Labor in the Portuguese Empire, 1740-1932 Redefining the Empire with Forced Labor and New Imperialism*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Coldham, Peter Wilson. *The King's Passengers to Maryland and Virginia* (Westminster, Md.: Heritage Books, 2006)

Peter Coldham's book was immensely important in tracking movements of convict servants from London to the Chesapeake. Within it Coldham has compiled lists of convict transportees from the original primary sources and indexed them. The book further has some of Barnes work at the rear to provide sketches, and a list of advertisements from newspapers regarding convicts. The book is primarily genealogical in purpose and targets that audience in its format. Due to the time of publication it omits some material (missing runaway designation for some convicts, etc.) of pertinence to this thesis.

Coldham, Peter Wilson. *Emigrants in Chains: A Social History of Forced Emigration to the Americas of Felons, Destitute Children, Political and Religious Non-Conformists, Vagabonds, Beggars and Other Undesirables, 1607-1776*. Baltimore, Md: Genealogical Pub. Co, 2007.

This work by Coldham is more historical in nature and provides an overview of convict transportation to the colonies by the British. It has been used to provide a broad overview of the practice, and supplements other, more specific, academic studies in that regard. It also has some sketch information regarding some of the more notorious British criminals during the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation ; 1707 - 1837*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.

Colley makes an argument for the creation of a sense of Britishness due to broad shared experiences and constant threats by the British people. It is used to explain likewise how convicts had in many regards a shared series of circumstances that helped to create an environment that encouraged networks and communities amongst them. This portion was used in conjunction with Ira Berlin, Linda Colley, and Winthrop Jordan's works.

Convict Voyages: A global history of convicts and penal colonies www.convictvoyages.org

This collaborative work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model.

The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Davis, David Brion. *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Davis' work was useful in contextualization and framework creation as well as a comparative examination of the lives of slaves in relationship to those of convict servants. It was particularly useful in understanding how cohorts of slaves and convicts interacted or did not interact on colonial plantations during the eighteenth century. This portion was used in conjunction with Ira Berlin, Linda Colley, and Winthrop Jordan's works.

Deacon, Bernard and Moira Donald. "In search of community history," *Family and Community History*, 7, no.1 (2004): 15-16

This work is useful in understanding the definition of community and networks as used in this thesis in the introduction and is utilized throughout the thesis in this regard. It is particularly used in Chapter 3, and the portions of Chapter 4 that relate to the model as presented in the third chapter.

Defoe, Daniel, and Edward H. Kelly. *Moll Flanders: An Authoritative Text, Backgrounds and Sources Criticism*. New York: Norton, 1973.

Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders* provides a literary reference to convict servants during the period of this thesis. It provides an alternative empathetic story that was meant to appeal to the masses and especially those more in tune with transportation. It is used in the introduction as a means to provide an alternative lens into the phenomenon of convict servants lives and is pertinent throughout the work in this regard. It is further compared with art pieces from Canaletto and Hogarth.

Doroshevich, V. M. *Russia's Penal Colony in the Far East: A Translation of Vlas Doroshevich's 'Sakhalin'*. London: Anthem Press, 2011.

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Eddis, William, and Aubrey C. Land. *Letters from America*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980.

William Eddis' work and commentary on convict servants is used as a means to access British attitudes and thought regarding convict servants. It has been extensively cited by other historians doing convict servant research and writing but has not been used in the particular manner as in this thesis. Eddis notes that convicts are treated the same as indentured servants but contradicts this by stating that many moved to distant areas to escape the stigma of their status. This thesis argues against this particular statement in many regards.

Ekirch, A. Roger. *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718-1775*. 2011.

Ekirch's work is used as a historiographical basis for this thesis and provides a broad understanding of the topic. Ekirch does not make an argument for the existence of or creation of community or networks in his work. This thesis is not so much as a challenge of conceptions of the book as it is an attempt to understand aspects that have not been thus far studied due to difficulties in tracking cohorts.

Ekirch, A. Roger. "Bound for America: A Profile of British Convicts Transported to the Colonies, 1718-1775." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (1985): 184-200.

Ekirch's profile is consistent with this thesis's finding, which support his work. His "profile" was used as a framework both categorically and historiographically to study the convict cohorts in this study.

Emsley, Clive, Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, "Crime and Justice – Punishments at the Old Bailey," *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Punishment.jsp>

The historical background pages at the old Bailey Proceedings Online have been used to frame the circumstances of convict servants' lives in the metropolis. They are used to understand life for convicts and plebeian Londoners during the eighteenth century. They cover varying aspects of life in Britain and the London in particular, as well as aspects of crime, culture, criminal justice, population demographics, and specific community histories.

Emsley, Clive, Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, "London History - London, 1715-1760," *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/London-life18th.jsp>

The historical background pages at the old Bailey Proceedings Online have been used to frame the circumstances of convict servants' lives in the metropolis. They are used to understand life for convicts and plebeian Londoners during the eighteenth century. They cover varying aspects of life in Britain and the London in particular, as well as aspects of

crime, culture, criminal justice, population demographics, and specific community histories.

Emsley, Clive, Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, "London History - Currency, Coinage and the Cost of Living," *Old Bailey Proceedings* <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Coinage.jsp>

The historical background pages at the old Bailey Proceedings Online have been used to frame the circumstances of convict servants' lives in the metropolis. They are used to understand life for convicts and plebeian Londoners during the eighteenth century. They cover varying aspects of life in Britain and the London in particular, as well as aspects of crime, culture, criminal justice, population demographics, and specific community histories.

Flavell, Julie. *When London Was Capital of America*. New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 2010.

Much like the Old Bailey Proceedings background articles, Flavell has been used both to frame and to examine life in London during the eighteenth century. It has been used in conjunction with these and G. E. Mingay's *Georgian London* to this usage. It has been particularly used in painting vivid pictures of London life during the period in the first chapter.

Fort Garrison, Baltimore County Historical Society Pamphlet, Maryland Vertical File, Maryland Room, Baltimore, Maryland; Isobel Davidson, ed., *Real Stories from Baltimore County History* (1967).

This piece supplements Boender's work and is also of particular interest in understanding the world of a particular convict servant in Baltimore County. William Isgrig, a convict servant, lived in close proximity to the fort and interacted with the land owners in probate records. The work helps to paint a picture of the environment that these figures lived in and describes particular events that related to the fort, and thus the figures' lives.

Fougère, Éric. *Île-prison, bagne et déportation: les murs de la mer, éloigner et punir*. Paris [u.a.]: L' Harmattan, 2003.

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Galenson, David W. *White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Galenson's work is useful as a historiographical point as well as in contextualizing the nature of the convict servant trade. It is primarily used and referenced in the introduction in a historiographical context in order to outline the importance of this thesis in filling a gap in prior scholarly examinations.

Games, Allison. *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

Alison Games' work on migration provides a framework for this study. Her argument focuses on the centrality of migration to the English Atlantic world. Further, and perhaps most importantly, her examination utilizes a cohort study of port registries. This thesis mirrors her methodology in the examination of a specific group on individuals who engaged in migration. Instead of using a single port registry, however, this thesis uses a more complex set of data sets by necessity in order to track convicts over space and time and reconstruct their communities and networks.

Grubb, Farley. "The Transatlantic Market for British Convict Labor," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (Mar., 2000).

Grubb's work is useful as a historiographical point as well as in contextualizing the nature of the convict servant trade. It is primarily used and referenced in the introduction in a historiographical context in order to outline the importance of this thesis in filling a gap in prior scholarly examinations. It also provides a reference to transportation in the second chapter, where the work's language is inherently useful in describing passage conditions.

Haslip-Viera, Gabriel. *Crime and Punishment in Late Colonial Mexico City, 1692-1810*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999.

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Hawkins, John. *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (New York: Dover Publications, 1963).

Like *Moll Flanders*, Hawkins grants access to other methods in examining convicts and convict servitude during the eighteenth century. From this work an examination of the *Beggar's Opera* is included. This work is used in the first chapter in order to contextualize the varying attitudes of the British population to criminality and convict

servants during the period and is further compared with art pieces from Canaletto and Hogarth.

Hay, Douglas. 'Property Authority and the Criminal Law,' in *Albion's Fatal Tree*, ed. Douglas Hay (New York: Pantheon, 1975).

Hay makes a contribution to this thesis by providing the framework for understanding how a system of patronage and deference took place in the British criminal justice system. It is used to explain how criminals that entered London without persistent social ties to elite members of the community, which they might have had in home parishes prior to migration, often lacked anyone to speak on their behalf. It is a portion of Chapter 2 that discusses how convict servants moved through the criminal justice system after the commission of crimes and how it related to the creation of networks and ties within the prison system.

Heinsen, Johan. 2016. "Dissonance in the Danish Atlantic: Speech, Violence and Mutiny, 1672-1683." *Atlantic Studies*. 13, no. 2: 187-205.

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Hitchcock, Tim, and Robert Brink Shoemaker. *London Lives: Poverty, Crime and the Making of a Modern City, 1690-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

London Lives is the follow-up to the digital database by the same name that provides a scholarly continuation of the London Lives site. The book argues for the casual linkage of poverty and crime together and contends that these two forces created a response from the British authorities. Through this response it is argued that the plebeian masses of London experienced an agency without specific unified and declared response as a group. For this thesis the book outlines the demographics and provides an amorphous definition to those that were engaging in network building and community creation.

Hitchcock, Tim. *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007).

Hitchcock's work on eighteenth century London is an important secondary source for understanding the lives of impoverished individuals in London during the period. From it a casual linkage is drawn from poor and criminality. It is primarily a factor in the first chapter of the thesis.

Hughes, Robert. *The Fatal Shore: A History of the Transportation of Convicts to Australia 1787-1868*. London: Vintage, 2006.

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Herzog, Tamar. *Upholding Justice Society, State, and the Penal System in Quito (1650-1750)*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007.

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Isaac, Rhys. *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

Rhys Isaac's work was used in order to understand the transformation of Maryland as much as he wrote on the transformation of Virginia. It was used to gain cultural context on the development and circumstances experienced by colonial convicts in Baltimore County. Colonial Maryland culture was part of a larger Chesapeake tobacco culture, which included both Maryland and Virginia. Virginia and Maryland in many ways developed in parallels, although often at different timespans, as peripheral locations mirrored a general Virginian development at a later time.

Jordan, Winthrop D. *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812*. Chapel Hill [N.C.]: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Jordan's work was useful in contextualization and framework creation as well as a comparative examination of the lives of slaves in relationship to those of convict servants. It was particularly useful in understanding how cohorts of slaves and convicts interacted or did not interact on colonial plantations during the eighteenth century. This portion was used in conjunction with Ira Berlin, Linda Colley, and Winthrop Jordan's works.

Lancaster, Kent. "Almost Chattel: The Lives of Indentured Servants at Hampton-Northampton, Baltimore County," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 94, no. 3 (1999).

Lancaster's work examines the lives of indentured servants at Hampton and Northampton during the period of this thesis. The work discusses the limited difference between

indentured servants and convict servants on the estates and provides an understanding of the nature of these servants' lives on the plantation. It concludes by acknowledging that many convict servants and indentured servants probably remained in or nearby after concluding their service, and notes that it is an area awaiting exploration. This work takes a place of primary importance in developing both primary source lists for the fourth chapter and in frameworks for the same.

Laslett, Peter. *The World We Have Lost*. Methuen, 1971.

Laslett's work is useful as a historiographical point as well as in contextualizing the nature of the convict servant trade. It is primarily used and referenced in the introduction in a historiographical context in order to outline the importance of this thesis in filling a gap in prior scholarly examinations.

Linebaugh, Peter. *The London Hanged: Crime and Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

The London Hanged has been incredibly useful in examining the circumstances and lives of criminality in London during the eighteenth century. The scholarship examines those individuals who were capitally convicted and executed in London. The circumstances and demographical data for this group were similar to those that were also transported. These individuals were those that were made examples of, and often included leaders of criminal networks, more notorious criminals, and the most serious offences. The work is largely used in reference format through the first and second chapters.

Lockridge, Kenneth A. *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years : Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736*. New York: Norton, 1985.

Lockridge's work is useful as a historiographical point as well as in contextualizing the nature of the convict servant trade. It is primarily used and referenced in the introduction in a historiographical context in order to outline the importance of this thesis in filling a gap in prior scholarly examinations.

MacMullan, John L. *The Canting Crew: London's Criminal Underworld, 1550-1700*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1984.

MacMullan outlines the use of canting language by criminals in their communities and acts as a corrective to geographically specific examinations of criminal behavior from the past. It places criminal behavior into an economic and cultural context and is useful in the

first and second chapters in understanding network creation, context, and communities in London.

Marks, Lillian Bayly. "Tavern and Ordinary Licenses in Baltimore County, Maryland, 1755-1763," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (Winter 1983): 326-340, 327.

Marks work is used in the examination of William Isgrig in the third chapter to outline the community connections created by Isgrig as a case sample.

Mawson, Stephanie. "Unruly Plebeians and the *Forzado System*: Convict Transportation between New Spain and the Philippines during the Seventeenth Century," *Revista De Indias* 73, no. 259 (2013): 693-730, 694-5, 699.

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Mills, Dennis. "Defining community: a critical review of 'community,'" *Family and Community History*, 7, no.1 (2004):8-11.

Mills' work is used in the introduction of the thesis to help flesh out an understanding of community and community networks. It is used along with the work of Rutman, Walsh, and Abrams in this regard in order to define community for this study.

Mingay, G. E. *Georgian London* (London: Batsford, 1975).

Much like the Old Bailey Proceedings background articles, Mingay has been used to both frame and to examine life in London during the eighteenth century. It has been used in conjunction with these and Flavell to this usage. It has been particularly used in painting vivid pictures of London life during the period in the first chapter.

Moogk, Peter N. "Reluctant Exiles: Emigrants from France in Canada Before 1760," *The William and Mary Quarterly* ("WMQ") 46, no. 3 (1986).

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Moogk, Peter N. *La Nouvelle France: The Making of French Canada a Cultural History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000).

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Morgan, Kenneth "Convict Runaways in Maryland, 1745-1775," *Journal of American Studies*, 23, no. 2 (1989).

Morgan's work is useful as a historiographical point, as well as in contextualizing the nature of the convict servant trade. It is primarily used and referenced in the introduction in a historiographical context in order to outline the importance of this thesis in filling a gap in prior scholarly examinations. It is further used in support of this thesis's findings regarding the demographics of convicts. It differs in Morgan's assessment of the frequency that convicts engaged in network behavior, which is a difference in opinion and interpretation.

Morgan G., and P. Rushton, "Running Away and Returning Home: the Fate of English Convicts in the American Colonies," *CRIME HISTORY AND SOCIETIES* 7 (2003).

Morgan and Rushton's work are useful in reassessing the frequency of runaway convicts who returned from transportation. Colonial authors overstated the frequency with which this was possible, and this work acts as a corrective to both the eighteenth century authors as well as historians who have used their rhetoric over the years. It is further useful in addressing other portions of language used by colonial authors for authenticity. If colonial authors were misstating the frequency of this phenomenon, it is also likely that other aspects regarding convict servants such as flight to avoid stigma were also overstated. It plays a primary role in the second chapter, where a discussion of returning from transportation occurs.

Norton, Mary Beth. "The Fate of Some Black Loyalists of the American Revolution," *Journal of Negro History* 58, no. 4 (Oct. 1973).

This article is used in conjunction with Hay's and comments on the circumstances of a system of deference and elite citizenry speaking on the behalf of individuals who found themselves before the criminal court system. It is used along with Hay in the second chapter.

Peden, Henry C. *Revolutionary Patriots of Baltimore Town and Baltimore County, Maryland, 1775-1783*. Westminster, Md. (Rear 63 East Main Street, Westminster): Family Line Publications, 1997.

This work is a secondary source compilation that has extensive primary source material within it. This work has been used to locate and understand involvement in specific activities and events by colonial convict servants both during and after their sentences. In many instances it either helps to track backward or forward linking London and ship transportation documents with events in colonial Maryland and Baltimore County.

Peden, Henry C. *Inhabitants of Baltimore County, 1763-1774*. Westminster, Md: Heritage Books, 2007.

This work is a secondary source compilation that has extensive primary source material within it. This work has been used to locate and understand involvement in specific activities and events by colonial convict servants both during and after their sentences. In many instances it either helps to track backward or forward linking London and ship transportation documents with events in colonial Maryland and Baltimore County.

Peden, Henry C. *Bastardy Cases in Baltimore County, Maryland, 1673-1783*. Westminster, MD.: Heritage Books, 2008.

This work is a secondary source compilation that has extensive primary source material within it. This work has been used to locate and understand involvement in specific activities and events by colonial convict servants both during and after their sentences. In many instances it either helps to track backward or forward linking London and ship transportation documents with events in colonial Maryland and Baltimore County.

Peden, Henry C. *Orphans and Indentured Children of Baltimore County, Maryland, 1777-1797*. Lewes, Del: Colonial Roots, 2005.

This work is a secondary source compilation that has extensive primary source material within it. This work has been used to locate and understand involvement in specific activities and events by colonial convict servants both during and after their sentences. In many instances it either helps to track backward or forward linking London and ship transportation documents with events in colonial Maryland and Baltimore County.

Peden, Henry C. *St. John's & St. George's Parish Registers, 1696-1851*. Westminster, Md: Willow Bend Books, 2006.

This work is a secondary source compilation that has extensive primary source material within it. This work has been used to locate and understand involvement in specific activities and events by colonial convict servants both during and after their sentences. In many instances it either helps to track backward or forward linking London and ship transportation documents with events in colonial Maryland and Baltimore County.

Peden, Henry C. *Maryland Prisoners Languishing in Gaol Vol. 1: 1635-1765*. Lewes, Delaware: Colonial Roots, 2013.

This work is a secondary source compilation that has extensive primary source material within it. This work has been used to locate and understand involvement in specific activities and events by colonial convict servants both during and after their sentences. In many instances it either helps to track backward or forward linking London and ship transportation documents with events in colonial Maryland and Baltimore County.

Peden, Henry C. *Maryland Prisoners Languishing in Gaol Vol 2: 1766-1800*, Lewes, Delaware: Colonial Roots, 2013.

This work is a secondary source compilation that has extensive primary source material within it. This work has been used to locate and understand involvement in specific activities and events by colonial convict servants both during and after their sentences. In many instances it either helps to track backward or forward linking London and ship transportation documents with events in colonial Maryland and Baltimore County.

Pike, Ruth. *Penal Servitude in Early Modern Spain*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Rediker, Marcus. *The Slave Ship: A Human History*. New York: Penguin Books, 2014.

Rediker's work on slave ship transportation is useful in providing a context for convict servant transportation that were often transported by slave ship captains, and sometimes on slave ships. In many ways convict servants mirrored the circumstances of slaves.

Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Rediker's work on maritime activities also provides an understanding of conditions during transportation at sea for convicts. It is useful in understanding how convicts created and maintained bonds and created networks onboard ships in order to engage in simple activities on board transportation ships. These activities would have mirrored not only slaves in many regards but also maritime cohorts who built community among themselves in messes and as they worked. It is integrated into the second chapter.

Reamy, Bill, and Martha Reamy. *Records of St. Paul's Parish*. 2007.

This work is a secondary source compilation that has extensive primary source material within it. This work has been used to locate and understand involvement in specific

activities and events by colonial convict servants both during and after their sentences. In many instances it either helps to track backward or forward linking London and ship transportation documents with events in colonial Maryland and Baltimore County.

Reid, Kirsty. *Gender, Crime and Empire: Convicts, Settlers and the State in Early Colonial Australia*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2012.

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Rodger, N.A.M. *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649-1815*, New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2004.

This work is used to specifically address mess consumption by seamen and coincides with information for secondary sources by Marcus Rediker to gain an understanding of conditions during transportation at sea for convict servants.

Rutman, Darrett B. "The Social Web: A Prospectus for the Study of the Early American Community," in O'Neill, William L. *Insights and Parallels: Problems and Issues of American Social History*. Minneapolis: Burgess, 1980.

Rutman's work is used in the introduction of the thesis to help flesh out an understanding of community and community networks. It is used along with the work of Beeman, Walsh, and Abrams in this regard in order to define community for this study.

Rutman, Darrett B., and Anita H. Rutman. *A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia ; 1650 - 1750*. New York u.a: Norton, 1984.

This work does a lot to prove the methodological framework of how community is being studied and should be studied for this thesis. Further, Rutman's work is used in the introduction of the thesis to help flesh out an understanding of community and community networks. It is used along with the work of Beeman, Walsh, and Abrams in this regard in order to define community for this study.

Schofield, Roger S. "Age Specific Mobility in an Eighteenth Century Rural English Parish," *Annales de Demographie Historique* (1970), 261-274.

Schofield's work is used in conjunction with that of Bailyn in order to understand the nature of eighteenth century migratory populations in Britain. It provides demographic information of those that were engaged in migration and draws a linking correlation

between Bailyn's populations and young aged groups who also comprised the bulk of those who came before the Old Bailey for criminal indictments.

Shipley, Charles L. "The Old Garrison Forest Fort," *Maryland Monthly Magazine* 2 (1907).

This piece supplements Boender's work and is also of particular interest in understanding the world of a particular convict servant in Baltimore County. William Isgrig, a convict servant, lived in close proximity to the fort and interacted with the land owners in probate records. The work helps to paint a picture of the environment that these figures lived in and describes particular events that related to the fort, and thus the figures lives.

Skirboll, Aaron. *The Thief-Taker Hangings: How Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Wild, and Jack Sheppard Captivated London and Created the Celebrity Criminal* (Guilford, Conn.: Lyons Press, 2014)

Skirboll's work is useful in understanding the communities' convicts created both prior to indictments and after indictments in London. It examines groups of criminals who engaged in varying levels of sophistication in criminal networks and communities. Some were highly organized, such as those involved in thief-taking, while others operated below these groups as displayed through Old Bailey Proceedings records.

Smith, Abbott Emerson. *Colonists in Bondage White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Smith's work is useful as a historiographical point as well as in contextualizing the nature of the convict servant trade. It is primarily used and referenced in the introduction in a historiographical context in order to outline the importance of this thesis in filling a gap in prior scholarly examinations.

Snell, Charles W. "Hampton Structure Report – Historical Data Section: Hampton Mansion and Garden, 1783-1909, Hampton National Historic Site, Towson, Maryland," (Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service United States Department of the Interior).

The history of Hampton Mansion provides the historical context for much of the Ridgely family who owned Hampton Mansion, which was built after the Revolutionary War. It provides biographical information for the Ridgely family, as well as the properties over time from their initial patents. It is useful in both the fourth chapter and the conclusion, in which the Ridgely family cohorts are examined.

Spufford, Peter. "Population Mobility in Pre-industrial England," *Genealogists' Magazine*, 17 (1973-1974): 420-429, 475-480, 537-543.

Spufford's work is used in conjunction with that of Bailyn in order to understand the nature of eighteenth century migratory populations in Britain. It provides demographic

information of those that were engaged in migration and draws a linking correlation between Bailyn's populations and young age groups, who also comprised the bulk of those who came before the Old Bailey for criminal indictments.

Steffen, Charles G. *From Gentlemen to Townsmen: The Gentry of Baltimore County, Maryland, 1660-1776* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993).

Steffen's work in *From Gentlemen to Townsmen* highlights the process with which the less prolific colonial gentry in Baltimore County came to prominence during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. It is useful as a framework to understanding the nuances of Baltimore County culture and life and especially useful in placing the convict cohort into a socioeconomic stratum that Steffen defines for his gentry. The convicts while not part of the top ten percent that Steffen is studying, largely fall into the demographic classified as middleclass. A few also are among the upper levels of wealth and bottom as well. A modified version of this wealth distribution table has been implemented as a visual reference to coincide with the economic analysis.

Steffen, Charles G. 1979. "The Pre-industrial Iron Worker: Northampton Iron Works, 1780–1820." *Labor History*. 20, no. 1: 89-110.

In this work Steffen examines the industrial complex located at Northampton where Sample B was located. The work provides a framework for understanding the lives of convicts at the ironworks during the eighteenth century, and helps to understand how they created and maintained networks and communities while they were there. It is a prominent source for Chapter 4 of the thesis that directly relates the Ridgely cohort study.

The Digital Panopticon www.digitalpanopticon.org.

This work, along with several other secondary sources, has been used in order to gain a broad understanding of convict transportation outside of the British model. The French, Spanish, Portuguese, and British each used convict transportation during colonial empire building with largely the same ideas and goals, albeit with varying levels of success and across vast and differing geography. It is directly referenced in the preface of the thesis.

Vaver, Anthony. *Bound with an Iron Chain: The Untold Story of How the British Transported 50,000 Convicts to Colonial America*, Westborough, MA: Pickpocket Publishing, 2011.

Vaver examines the broad topic of convict servitude and transportation without making any complex argument regarding its practice. While largely non-academic in nature in the second chapter it has gathered information on events pertinent to this study and is used to highlight examples of continued community amongst those who continued to resist British authority.

Walsh, Lorena S. "Community Networks in the Early Chesapeake," in Carr, Lois Green. *Colonial Chesapeake Society: [Papers Drawn from the Proceedings of Two Conferences Held in 1984 in Honor of Maryland's 350th Anniversary]*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of North Carolina Pr, 2000.

In this article Walsh examines community in the Chesapeake. The work responds to previous community studies in the historiography that were largely conducted in New England and argues that, despite dispersed agrarian settlement, communities occurred in the Chesapeake, and their connections can be examined. While largely concerned with the seventeenth century many aspects are transferable to areas of eighteenth century Chesapeake, especially in unsettled regions that could mirror Walsh's study, or with new settlers or demographics such as convicts who enter into an area.

Walsh, Lorena S. *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607-1763*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

In conjunction with Isaac, Walsh's work provides an understanding of the colonial tobacco culture that was a mainstay of the Chesapeake economy and culture. It is used in conjunction with Isaac to this regard and also in understanding how the convicts both interacted with the system and were part of it, in some instances, after their sentences were served and they sought to become farm and plantation operators themselves. Several of the sample cohorts engaged in tobacco cultivation after their sentences.

Wright, F. Edward. *Inhabitants of Baltimore County, 1692-1763*. Silver Spring, Md. (13405 Collingwood Ter., Silver Spring 20904): Family Line Publications, 1987.

This work is a secondary source compilation that has extensive primary source material within it. This work has been used to locate and understand involvement in specific activities and events by colonial convict servants both during and after their sentences. In many instances it either helps to track backward or forward linking London and ship transportation documents with events in colonial Maryland and Baltimore County.

Zabin, Serena R. *Dangerous Economies: Status and Commerce in Imperial New York*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

Zabin's book coincides with Breen's examination of colonial markets in order to understand how the consumer marketplace was used by populations and specifically by convicts during the eighteenth century. It provides details of the utilization of the cloth secondary market by convicts and criminals. While Zabin looks at colonial New York, a similar phenomenon was occurring in London and on a larger scale.